

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals upon Current Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

MONOPOLY UNDER THE GUISE OF PROTECTION.

From the N. Y. Times.

The Tribune denies that the cost of importing certain grades of steel is eighty-six per cent. in excess of the price paid by the maker abroad. A letter of Mr. McCoy, of the firm of Vanwart, McCoy & Co., large importers of steel in New York, is conclusive as to the correctness of our statement. We might multiply proofs by citing, to the same effect, every steel importing house in this city. This point being established, then, our other assertion, that the proposed increase of duty, of one cent per pound, which the Tribune advocates, will raise the charges of importation to 120 per cent. of first cost, follows as a necessary consequence.

That such a rate of duty is not needed for protection is a fact established by the evidence of the steel makers themselves. In a memorial signed by all the steel makers then in the United States, addressed to Congress in January, 1867, they state that "the manufacture of steel in this country became an assured success as early as 1859." The rate of duty then existing was 12 per cent. ad valorem, and this rate was increased successively to 40 per cent. by the tariff of 1861 and 1862; the increase having been agreed upon as the steel makers tell us in their memorial—"by the representatives of foreign and American manufacturers before the Committee of Ways and Means, as being well adapted to the existing state of the steel manufacture in this country," then in its comparative infancy. The object of the increase of duty in 1862, as we learn from the same authorities, was to compel the domestic maker for the internal tax then levied, and which, in all, equalled two and a half cents per pound. This tax, however, has been wholly removed, and the domestic maker benefited in an equal degree, the external tax or duty remaining the same. The steel makers further stated in their memorial that under this rate of duty, "the American manufacture of steel had attained, from 1859 to the commencement of the Rebellion, very considerable efficiency, and during the succeeding four years made rapid progress, competing successfully with the best English brands which had previously enjoyed a monopoly of the market."

The duties on steel having been agreed to by domestic manufacturers as "well adapted to the condition of steel manufacture in this country," and as being "made in great progress, competing successfully for the market with the best English brands which had previously enjoyed a monopoly of the trade," what more can they desire by way of protection? Since the date of the imposition of the duties which gave them all they asked and under which they have, as they declare, thrived wonderfully, the cost of the manufacture has been wholly relieved of a tax equal, in currency, to the present duty in gold. Upon what pretext, then, do they ask for a rate of duty which shall increase the present cost of importation some forty per cent.? Their object, of course, is a monopoly in the production of this important article. This is the full sum of their patriotism. The Tribune advocates the proposed increase as a wholesome discipline of refractory industries which are too stupid or too obstinate to pursue their own interests. Consumers of steel in this country still persist in sending abroad for it. So long as they import it they must send something they produce to be consumed by "pauper laborers" abroad, who deserve no better treatment from us than to be starved. The present rate is not enough to correct the perverseness of our people; hence the Tribune advocates one that will increase the present excessive cost of importation some forty per cent. Such a rate is likely to finish the business.

Now, while providing for the adequate protection of labor, it is our duty to see that protection shall not become an agency for creating monopolies. We desire to see the American maker amply compensated for the higher rate of capital and labor here. Such, and even a still greater advantage, the necessities of our Government must, for a long time, secure to him. But we do not wish to put him beyond the necessities of a vigorous and healthy competition, which is the only way in which we can ever get a good article as cheaply as the foreigner. The Tribune would destroy all but domestic competition, and leave us to monopolists just as remorseless and hard-hearted as we are made to believe there are on the other side of the water.

The Tribune enlarges upon the vast aggregations of capital and skill required to manufacture steel. The truth is, however, that steel is made successfully with a very small outlay of capital compared with the amounts which establishments for making iron require. Several large consumers of steel in this country are already making it in their own works—making axes, sawing machines, and the like. Under it they "made with a few thousand dollars of additional outlay. As for skill, no more is required than in the manufacture of good iron. To succeed in the manufacture of the former, there must be proper selection of materials and a good degree of care in the processes. The allegation that it is any more difficult to make good steel than good iron, good cloth, or a good hat, is one of the inventions of our contemporary. The great difficulty in the way of making steel in this country is the unwillingness of our makers to use the right kind of material. When they use such they can make as good steel as foreigners. But they will persist in objecting, of course, to a monopoly in the production of this important article. The Tribune would destroy all but domestic competition, and leave us to monopolists just as remorseless and hard-hearted as we are made to believe there are on the other side of the water.

THE NATIONAL DISGRACE.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

About the year 1850, a white trader near Council Bluffs, finding himself cheated in a fur trade by some Pawnees, loaded a horse with the clothes of a man who had died of the small-pox, drove it into their village, and went on the way rejoicing. Two or three months afterwards, Colonel Dougherty (the famous Indian agent for so many years beyond the Mississippi) with his troop, visited this village for the purpose of making the annual settlement. For miles along the prairie scattered human bones were bleaching in the hot August sun; as he came nearer, the bodies, swelled and putrefying, of the more recent victims were found, usually at the edge of the pools or water-courses, where the poor wretches had crept in their

agony of thirst. In the village itself there was the silence of death. Out of thirty villages visited by Dougherty that summer, only two had escaped. Naturally, a massacre of the whites followed the next winter; and again, of course, this was succeeded by a still more bloody slaughter of the Indians by the Government troops. The sequence is inevitable, and has gone on since the beginning. It is an old story, but one which clearly illustrates our mutual relations with the Indians since the murders by the Paxton Boys and Colonel Cresap a hundred years ago, to that more foul and cowardly one the other day which army officers jealously denominated as their hard hit.

It is time we looked this Indian question full in the face. The Chayenne or Sioux is a barbarian—a filthy, lazy, uncomfortable fiend among us; he jabs, perhaps, against our finer sense at every turn; but he is our creditor. We have taken from him our land—the very air we breathe. It is a plain business matter; he must pay him. But how? He is a thief, perhaps a drunkard, and an assassin, and we are a Christian people. But we have habitually sent out to deal with him, as pioneers of our civilization and Christ's gospel, traders, pikers, and agents, who were drunkards, thieves, and assassins. They showed him the way. Now, how shall we punish him because he followed? How shall we punish this ignorant savage for being a savage? Being a Christian people, and bidden to preach the Gospel to every creature, can we deal with the Indian in no other mood than by becoming more beastly and barbarous than he? While we stretch out one hand to stay the Hindu mother from sacrificing her child, are we to pat with the other those gallant officers and Christian gentlemen approvingly on the head, who cut the throats of women, and strangle babies at their mothers' breasts? If this is the only method left us of meeting the problem of this relic of heathendom in our midst, then our civilization and Christianity are proven to be impotent shams and lies. If we are driven to take up the red man's weapons, it must be because our own are less strong than his. General Sheridan meets the matter boldly, and defends the late massacre by saying that either the whites or Indians must be murdered; and for our part meet it on the other hand, and assert that if centuries of education and Christianity cannot raise us a whit above the Indians, but have left us, like them, brutal cowards, mere women and baby stranglers, there is no reason to choose between us. Better the redskins should be left to torment us on the border, than these successful butchers in our army to condemn us in the eyes of the world and of God.

Government has too long willfully remained blind to these outrages upon the Indians on the frontier, of which this last, though the most glaring, is but one of a class. It is, we know, a vexatious, difficult question, but it never has been fairly met. Slavery was as difficult; expediency and political interest staved off its adjustment, until God set it right with swift and terrible action. The Indian indicts us for wrongs and cruelties as deep as those of the negro; we may call it sentimental and piling to urge them; the lightest question of price in stocks or fall in dry-goods seems to us a more weighty and real matter than the cheated and wretched savages on our border. There is but one thing, however, certain in history—that in the lives of nations, as individuals, the great currents of right and wrong ebb and flow steadily towards enlightenment or barbarism—currents which, under all, God rules; and that it is not questions of dry goods and stocks which bring upon a nation either punishment or dismemberment, but human or religious rights infringed. England, in India, laid aside her Christianity to meet heathenism with heathenish cruelty, and was taught her mistake at Lucknow and Cawnpore. We have just atoned, by the most bloody civil war ever known to the world, for our treatment of the negro. It is too soon for the lesson to be lost on us.

OUR NAVAL POWER—PARSIMONY OF CONGRESS.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Gentlemen on the floor of Congress, deep in the Cuban agitation, speak of our being a great nation, and able to dictate terms to any power on earth. They talk of our "naval strength," which, in reality, is confined to miserable failures of wooden vessels, some few good tugs and an acre of iron monitors that would not float with their turrets and guns. The condition of the navy has been explained to the country in the report of Secretary Robeson in unmistakable language, and an earnest appeal is there made to Congress to place the service in a condition befitting at least a fifth rate power. The appeal has been vain. The very men who talk so loud and who owe their present positions to the army and the navy, but for which they would now be unknown, are the most malignant enemies of the service, and are doing all they can to bring it into disrepute. What a pitiable condition this great republic would be in if war was suddenly sprung upon us; yet who knows when that event may occur?

The Government is now in treaty with the Dominicans for a portion of their territory, which has been much coveted by England, France, and Spain. If report speaks the truth, we are bound by the conditions of the treaty to protect the Dominicans against domestic and foreign enemies with our naval force. If we recognize the independence of the Cubans a variety of complications will arise, and we may be suddenly called upon to prepare for a collision with Spanish fleets that outnumber us in guns twenty to one. The Spanish men-of-war now in Cuba carry over four hundred guns, while our small squadron mounts but thirty guns all told. One of the Spanish frigates now in the harbor of New York carries more guns than our entire West India fleet, which, though it comprises good vessels of their kind, is no match for the Spanish force assembled in Cuban waters to meet an emergency, which they naturally conclude may arise at any moment. While this condition of affairs is well known to the people of this country, who can well understand the situation of affairs, our ships that are ready for service cannot even get to sea, because Congress has refused to grant the requisite number of men to maintain a force of forty vessels, these to be divided among all our stations abroad. Four or five ships now ready to sail for foreign stations cannot get to sea because the law will not allow them crews, while the crews of vessels abroad, whose times are out, have to be given one-fourth more pay to induce them to remain a few months longer on the stations.

The country has seen how the present department has labored to form a navy from the debris left by Mr. Gideon Welles, and although eighty-six vessels have been resurrected from the dead, it has been done at an expense of three and a half millions of dollars less than was paid by old Sinbad the Sailor, who in his last year fitted out but two ships. Yet Congress cannot see that two millions. The difference between the Blo-

som and the Andrew Jackson Club in outward appearance is striking. The latter meets in an old wooden Revolutionary mansion, furnished in the plainest style with a bar, and a few portraits of local Democratic politicians. The interior is constructed in the fashion of one hundred years ago, with antique fire-places, mustel, and fine old carvings. The contrast between the place and its occupants is very suggestive, and a gathering of its members to consult about future political plans and operations must be a strange spectacle. There is a new Democratic club called the Jefferson, which has been lately formed at Harlem, but it does not amount to much. Mr. Genet is President.

HOW GENERAL GRANT ALLOWS HIMSELF TO BE HOODWINKED BY SPAIN. From the N. Y. Sun. It is at last officially admitted that the American Government has allowed itself to be systematically deceived by the Spanish authorities in regard to Cuban affairs. Mr. Hamilton Fish has been awakened from his long sleep, not to find, like Rip Van Winkle, the banner of freedom waving over the former strongholds of despotism, but to discover that he has been the dupe of those monstrous misrepresentations which impelled General Grant to side with the oppressors of Cuba and to resist the efforts of his heroic citizens. That this country should confide the management of its foreign affairs to a Secretary of State who implicitly believes all that is told him by the Spanish Minister, and the lawyers and spies in his employ, and by the unscrupulous military adventurers who constitute the government at Madrid, would seem to be almost incredible. Unfortunately, the fact cannot be disputed.

THE PANEL GAME.

From the N. Y. World.

The tariff riots, but it also swindles. It can garrote, and likewise play the "panel game." Two instances of this latter form of rascality are as follows—

Had Mr. Kelley, whom we will here take as the Pennsylvania iron interest, moved in committee to raise the duty on rails thirty cents per hundred pounds, Mr. Schenck, or the West, would have resisted that proposition. The sly Kelley therefore thimble-rigs, and procures in the bill as now drafted the following fair-seeming clause, vide page 17, line 391:—

"On iron of any size or description, not included, embraced, or enumerated in this act, one cent per pound."

Iron rails not being anywhere "included, embraced, or enumerated in this act," it follows that, should the bill pass as written, Mr. Kelley will, by his "panel game," have compassed a duty of \$1, instead of as now 70 cents, on each hundred pounds of iron rails—an increase of 43 per cent.

Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, operates the second game. In that State, as in Europe, there is a manufacture from cow-hair and calf-hair a certain heavy fabric, used for padding, the roughest and coarsest of clothing, and the rude ways. In England, this fabric, which weighs 2.5 pounds to the yard, costs 3 shillings sterling, or 72 cents per yard, and to protect the Massachusetts manufacturers, a duty of 35 per cent. ad valorem is imposed on the foreign article. This not being enough for Massachusetts, it is desired by Mr. Hooper to clap a specific duty of 50 cents a pound on top of the 35 per cent. ad valorem, and, fearing a direct proposition, the "panel game" is resorted to. On page 10, line 214, of the bill we find:—

"Of all manufactured articles composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, or of goats, or of other animals, and not otherwise provided for, 50 cents per pound, and in addition thereto, 35 per cent. ad valorem."

"Other animals" takes in cows and calves very well, and as this rough fabric from their hair is not otherwise provided for, Mr. Hooper juggles in his desired increase quite handsomely. What that increase may be thus seen:—

PROPOSED RATE.	
Price of 1 yard of cow-hair cloth in England.....	\$0.72
Ad valorem duty, 35 per cent., on \$0.72.....	25
Specific duty, 50¢ lb., at 50.....	1.10—\$2.07

PRESENT RATE.	
Price, as above.....	\$0.72
Ad valorem duty, as above.....	25—97

To Cr. of "panel game".....\$1.10—which gives a duty of 188 per cent. on first cost, and an increase of the proposed over the present duty of 440 per cent. As may be imagined, this cow-hair fabric, so far as it is employed for clothing, is used only by the very poorest and most needy classes; and yet these "panel-game" operators have the effrontery to tell us they spare the poor.

THE DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF NEW YORK.

From the Springfield Republican.

All of our readers have of course heard of the Manhattan Club, the headquarters of the genteel Democracy, where Manton Marble, Augustus Schell, Barlow, Belmont, Tilden, and other dignitaries meet to discuss national and State affairs. This club is not so much luxurious as comfortable, and is resorted to by men of wealth and social position.

It is now east in the shade, however, by the Andrew Jackson Club, which is composed of the ablest and most energetic members of the Young Democracy, whose spirit is beginning to mount towards the zenith. This organization is particularly interesting at this time as being the centre from which the future local policy of the Democratic party will emanate, and it has become very influential of late. It was founded in March, 1867, mainly to advance the interests of Sheriff James O'Brien, the leading magnate of the new party. Its headquarters were at first in the eastern part of the city, but, as its members grew in power and popularity, it was removed to its present location on the corner of Thirty-third street and Lexington avenue. It numbers about 200 members, who are all shrewd and active politicians, mostly opposed to the present ring, and who combine the intellectual and muscular elements of the party. Congressman James Brooks, Henry L. Clinton, Leander Buck, the President, Thomas Reese, one of the ablest Democratic politicians, and formerly clerk of the Board of Education, and Bickaby, McCall, Genet, and Norton are among the best known members. "Jimmy" O'Brien, as he is popularly called, is, of course, the leading spirit of the organization. He is represented to be a charitable man, who neither drinks, swears, or uses tobacco in any form. He is remarkably reticent and intelligent for a man of so little education. He resembles Brick Pomeroy in his lack of the smaller vices, and controls his rough followers apparently by his personal magnetism, and has gained the respect of the educated Democrats, who appear to think highly of him.

There is a third important political club in New York, called the Blossom, from what cause I know not, but presume on account of the inclination of the noses of some politicians to blossom like that of Nasby, as drawn by the clever hand of Nast. This body is composed of the great men of the ring, including Tweed, Sweeney, and Oakley Hall, together with the leaders of the corrupt portion of the Republican party, who have affiliated with the ring in their corrupt schemes. The Blossom holds its meetings in an elegant building on Fifth avenue, near Twenty-third street, fitted up in the most sumptuous style. One of the great unwashed expressively described the luxury of the rooms by saying that if you struck a sledge-hammer on the floor it would not be heard a yard off, on account of the thickness of the Turkey carpet. The decorations and furniture are supposed to have been paid for by Andrew Garvin out of the profits of the new Court House job, which amounted to one or two millions. The difference between the Blo-

som and the Andrew Jackson Club in outward appearance is striking. The latter meets in an old wooden Revolutionary mansion, furnished in the plainest style with a bar, and a few portraits of local Democratic politicians. The interior is constructed in the fashion of one hundred years ago, with antique fire-places, mustel, and fine old carvings. The contrast between the place and its occupants is very suggestive, and a gathering of its members to consult about future political plans and operations must be a strange spectacle. There is a new Democratic club called the Jefferson, which has been lately formed at Harlem, but it does not amount to much. Mr. Genet is President.

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If the responsibility which Mr. Fish has thus assumed affected only his own reputation as an intelligent man, the matter would deserve little attention; but from the moment an official's credulity—not to say obsequiousness—comes into play, and justice, as in the case of the Cubans, and makes American influence, the laughing stock of the world, the delinquency assumes such formidable proportions as to demand immediate and efficient action on the part of the people's representatives. It is fortunate that Mr. Fish was not in Mr. Seward's place during our civil war. He would have placed implicit faith in all the intelligence conveyed to him by the Rebel spies and agents inside the State Department and in Washington city; and after acting upon information which he ought to have known was false and wrong, the fortune of his country, he would probably, as at the present day in the analogous position respecting Cuba, have expressed his amazement at the audacity of his deceivers.

A high dignitary of State who acts thus may give capital dinners and be a very fine gentleman, but he is not the sort of person to have charge of public business affecting the honor of this nation and the welfare of neighboring States, struggling against despotism. But although Mr. Fish must naturally suffer in reputation for presuming to undertake duties which he is unable to fulfill, the country will hold the President responsible for the blunders of the Secretary of State. This responsibility will be the more serious because at the time the Cabinet was formed the merest tyro in political life must have known that Mr. Fish was unfit for the important post to which he was assigned.

THE LEGAL-TENDER ACT.

From the London Times.

The last mail from America has brought us the full report of the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States upon a case of considerable direct importance to many on this side of the Atlantic, and interesting to all, as illustrating, perhaps beyond any other, the peculiarities of the United States Constitution. February, 1869, when the civil war was still going on, Congress passed an act which was immediately approved in due form by President Lincoln, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue \$150,000,000 in United States notes payable to bearer, and the act declared that such notes "shall be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States, except duties on imports and interest" upon the bonds and notes of the federation. This act was but the first of a series continually increasing the amount of the notes issued under the same conditions, until at last the total issued approached \$450,000,000. At the time it was passed Mr. Chase was the Secretary of the Treasury, and the measure was introduced, as the issue of which it authorized, a legal tender in discharge of past debts, and that Congress transcended its proper powers in attempting to confer such a privilege on the notes. To complete the singularity of the position, it fell to the lot of the Chief Justice, three were for supporting and three for annulling the act of Congress. Chief Justice Chase heroically joined in sacrificing what we may call his own offspring, and in his judgment made the wisest confession of the error of the Supreme Court in annulling the retrospective action of the Legal-tender act must go far to reassure those who feared that the authority of the judiciary had been irretrievably weakened by the civil war in America. It would not, we believe, be possible to mention a decision of more momentous importance, or one the grounds of which were more independently investigated. It is true that a cry has been already raised in some quarters in America that the Senate must not approve any fresh appointments to the Court unless they are satisfied that the persons appointed disavow the recent judgment; but it is difficult to believe that "a law-abiding people" would seriously think of striking so fatal a blow at the integrity of the administration of justice. Dismissing this outrageous suggestion, it must be observed that the result of the trial comes home in a very practical sense to many in England and in Germany. The holders of the securities of all the States except Massachusetts have, since 1862, been paid in paper their interest according under bonds given before the date, and some of them whose bonds have matured have been paid off in the same depreciated medium. They have consistently protested

against the wrong they have suffered, and the correspondence between the agent of the Messrs. Rothschild and the Treasurer of Pennsylvania will be remembered from the extraordinary tone adopted by that State official. The decision of the Supreme Court would seem to give to all foreigners who have thus been receiving paper, under protest, in discharge of contracts made when the currency was coin, a right to sue the States indebted to them for the difference in value between what they received and what was their due. We do not understand how any answer could be set up to such a claim. Difficulties might be thrown in the way of suitors, but the Courts to which they would resort would be Federal and not State Courts, and ultimate success ought to be certain. It is probable that united and prompt action would produce a settlement satisfactory to creditors, if it did not even restore the financial reputation of the States in question.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

THE PENNSYLVANIA FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

The Directors have this day declared a dividend of SEVEN DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS per Share on the Stock of the Company for the last six months, which will be paid on or before the 15th inst. to the holders of the 17th inst. 55 10c WILLIAM C. CROWELL, Secretary.

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